EPILOGUE

PRĚBANOSA: We shall not consider the subject further. The formation of battle array has been satisfactorily prepared. Be on your way.

POTET: Cease your practising. You have trained yourselves sufficiently in the use of arms. Set out!

No description has yet been given of the costumes of the *dĕmangs* and the *dĕmungs*. The headdress is of hammered leather with decorations beside the temples and includes a *garuda mungkur*, but not a diadem. Instead, a part of the skull is covered by rolled water-buffalo leather, which gives the impression of a high, bald forehead surrounded by locks of woolly hair. A moustache and whiskers lend a martial appearance to the face. An hibiscus is worn above the ears as a decoration. In their headdress, and also in their behaviour, the warriors in the *baris dĕmang* resemble the *dĕmangs* who precede the ruler in the *gambuh*. Another similarity is the fact that the repertoire of the *gambuh* is chosen by preference from the Panji tales and Middle Javanese historical romances.

The *dĕmangs* and *dĕmungs* have on red shirts with long sleeves such as were worn by warriors before the twentieth century. (Red is still the colour for the uniforms of the village police on Lombok.) Sashes of blue-and-white-squared cloth are worn around the neck and slantwise across the breast. The trousers are of *polĕng kĕklat-katan*, a sort of plaid resembling bamboo thatchwork. The *kain* is pulled between the legs as a *kanchut*, while the loincloth has blue and white stripes running crosswise, trimmed with red, white, and blue stripes along the length of the edges.

A short, broad sword is carried in one hand. The sword is provided with a ring on the hilt, and the reverse of the blade is decorated. There is the usual blood gully, and the sharp side is indicated with white. The other hand holds a small round shield made of water-buffalo hide.

Though, as De Zoete and Spies mentioned, as far as is known the *baris dĕmang* is now only performed on anniversaries in Pura Pĕmayun, in earlier times it was also danced in the street in the village of Bungkulan, a short distance to the east of the town of Buleleng, on the occasion of the purification of the gods at the seashore.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

532 intricate groups of figures, which are filled with an all-over pattern of clouds to indicate the atmosphere. When there are

[411]

Ardjuna

various episodes to a story, each is separated from the next by a conventional row of mountains or flames, with the heroes repeated in various attitudes.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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djago and is the garment of magic characters such as Bhima, Twalén, and Merdah.

Although not a part of the weaving art, the gilt cloth (*kamben prada*) used for theatrical performances is also important. This is coloured silk boldly patterned with applications of pure goldleaf (*prada*) glued onto the fabric with Chinese gelatine (*antjur*) by a special process. It is curious that despite the fact that every Balinese wears Javanese *batik* for everyday dress, there is no evidence of their having adopted this popular process of decorating cloth. I have found strange batiks in a rough hand-woven cotton of a non-Javanese style, but I could never discover proof that they were made in Bali.

The Balinese also excel in the art of working metals, from the simple agricultural implements of iron, the parts of musical instruments, and the accessories of priests (bells, incense-burners, lamps, tripods, and so forth) cast in brass, to the extravagant gold and silver platters (*lelantjang*), water-bottles (*kendíh*), and vases (*sangkú* and *batil*), the knives and scissors for cutting betel-nut (*tjaket*) of wrought iron inlaid in silver, and the rich and elaborate rings, bracelets, ear-plugs, and flowers for the hair in hammered and chiselled gold set with rubies and star sapphires.

But the most important examples of Balinese craftsmanship are their krisses, the famous weapons of important Indonesian men, nowadays worn only as symbols and as ornaments. An inherited kris that has descended in a family for generations becomes not only their most important heirloom, but also the tangible part of the family deity and has come actually to be worshipped as an ancestral god, a *batara kawitan*, in whom the magic strength of the forefathers continues to live. Thus the head of a prominent Balinese family regards his kris as an important appendage and a symbol of himself. Today in the old villages it is compulsory for every man to wear his kris to attend a meeting; the kris must be worn at marriage and for all ceremonial or state occasions. Whoever cannot appear in person, sends his

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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kris to represent him, as for instance a judge who is sick and cannot attend a trial. In certain cases the marriage of a prince to a woman of the lower castes is performed by proxy in the form of the kris of her future husband. A new kris must be made "alive" by a priest, who blesses it in a special ceremony, reciting magic formulas over it and inscribing imaginary signs over the blade, while its owner dedicates an offering. Ancient krisses are kept alive with offerings of flowers and incense; a neglected and rusty kris is said to be dead.

The economic status of a man is determined by the richness of his kris, and a good part of his fortune is invested in the gold and jewels that decorate it. Only the blade is sacred, and the gold parts, the precious stones and ivory can be pawned in case of need and turned into cash. There are krisses worth thousands of guilders, covered with beaten gold, with handles shaped like gods or demons and set with enormous rubies and rose diamonds. Such are the famous krisses of the kings of South Bali taken by the Dutch as war booty at the time of the great mass-suicide of Den Pasar in 1906, now among the star pieces of the Batavia Museum. These fancy jewelled krisses were made to be worn on state occasions, while simpler ones were used for actual fighting, with more practical wooden handles shaped to ensure a good grip.

Gold hilts with precious stones are of course the most stylish, but there are also some made of horn, ebony, and other precious woods, with a heavy base (*bebataran*) of gold set with rubies and a small ring, of gold and rubies also, between the hilt and the blade. There is a great variety of kris handles, but a particularly interesting model is that called *kotjet-kotjetan*, the representation in ebony of the chrysalis of a large beetle with long antennæ.

The sheath not only protects the kris from outside influences, both physical and magic, but also insulates the vibrations emanating from the kris itself, which may act dangerously on human beings. The sheaths of the super-ornate krisses are of wood

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

covered with gold and silver, topped by a large crosspiece of ivory or ebony. The Balinese also made krisses of great simplicity, with the sheath and handle of a beautifully mottled precious wood called *pelet* which they obtained from Java. Old men claim that a fine piece of *pelet* for the crosspiece of the sheath or for the handle brought as much as fifty guilders in former times.

The shape of krisses is native Indonesian, free of all Hindu influence. It is found all over the archipelago from the Malay Peninsula to the Philippines and is invariably known by the name of *kris*. The Balinese form differs from that of the other islands only in details, and especially from the Javanese kris mainly in that it is considerably larger and more elaborate, although old Javanese blades are found in Bali, provided, however, with the richer Balinese hilts and sheaths.

The blade is the most important part of the kris; it can be straight and simple at times, but most often is fierce-looking, shaped like a flame, perhaps a form derived from a mythical serpent, a *naga*, since often there are krisses, not only in Bali and Java, but also in other parts of Indonesia, in which the body of the *naga* forms the blade, widening as it nears the top to make room for the curved neck and head of the *naga*. The upper part of the blade is full of barbs, dents, and curlicues wrought into the iron in an endless variety of styles, each with a special name, mysterious shapes that must once have had a now lost significance. There are also krisses with representations in high relief of elephants, bulls, winged lions (*singha*), and geese (*angsa*), which could possibly, at one time, have been related to the family totem. The extraordinary watered patterns (*pamor*) of silvery metal against a background of blue-black iron which have made krisses famous is the result of beating over and over alternating layers of meteoric nickel and iron layers until a fine moiré-like *pamor* is obtained, brought out afterwards by blackening the iron layers with a mixture of antimony and lemon juice. The kris is preserved from rust by a coating of coconut oil.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

The blacksmiths, makers of krisses, belong to a special caste, the *pandé*, aristocrats among the lower classes who worship the fiery volcano Batur and are regarded as powerful magicians who understand the handling of iron and fire, two elements held in reverence since earliest times. The distinguished *pandés* are even respected by the proud Brahmanas, who consider themselves the highest form of humanity, and who are required to address a *pandé* in the high language when the smith has his tools in his hands. It is said (according to Korn) that a *pandé*

Blacksmiths at Work (from a Balinese manuscript)

who engaged a Brahmanic priest to officiate for him ("took holy water from a Brahmana") would lose his "*pandé* power" (*kepandean*) and might even become a monkey.

There are many popular beliefs concerning the life and power of krisses. It is said that a witch-doctor, through trance, can communicate with the spirit of a given kris and learn its past history. It is also believed that the strange fascination that a kris has on certain individuals is the cause of the temporary madness of a man who runs amuck (*amok*). He is not responsible for his acts because he is compelled by a bloodthirsty kris to run wild, killing people. Often ancestral krisses are held to have come from the heavens as a gift from the gods, and these krisses are powerful amulets against all sorts of calamities. In Ubud I was told of a man who fell asleep under an old *waringin* tree and dreamed that the spirit of the tree ordered him to cut certain roots for an offering. Imbedded among the roots, he found an old kris blade. Afraid to keep it, he turned it over to the feudal

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

[illegible] of the district, the *Tjokorde* of Ubud, who placed it in a [illegible]ial shrine in his family temple. But the temple caught fire, [illegible]d from then on, every place where the kris was kept soon went up in flames. Through trances and consultations it was learned that it was necessary to placate the spirit of the *waringin* tree by planting a sprig of it in Ubud. Then the fires stopped, but the magic kris would not tolerate anything above it and had to be kept in a roofless shrine. The kris cannot go through doorways, and when it is moved out of the temple it has to be carried over the wall by a bridge.

The historical tale of Ken Arok, the bandit who became a famous Javanese king of the thirteenth century, one of the great classics of Kawi literature, is in reality the story of a magic kris:

The child of simple peasants of Tumapel, Ken Arok ran away from home and joined bandits and gamblers, whom he robbed and deserted after he had learned all he could from them. He continued in his career of crime, holding up people and raping girls, but his personality and charm enabled him always to find someone who would shelter him, until one day he fell in with the great Brahmana Lohgawé, who claimed descent from Wisnú. Lohgawé was so completely won by Ken Arok that he ended by adopting him as a son and introduced him into the court, into the private service of King Tunggul Ametung. The king's wife was the beautiful Ken Dedes, said to be the reincarnation of Dewi Sri because from her womb irradiated a glowing light. She was the daughter of a Brahmana and consequently of a caste superior to the king who had stolen her, causing her affronted father to curse the king to die by a kris.

Ken Arok immediately fell in love with Ken Dedes and she with him. His Brahmanic friends saw the opportunity for vengeance and enticed Ken Arok into making love to her, telling him that he who possessed her would own the world. They did not discourage Ken Arok when he decided to kill the king and marry Ken Dedes. With this purpose in mind, Ken Arok ordered a magic kris from Mpú Gandring, most famous of black-

Text continues on page 202; plates 202(A) through (M) appear on the immediately following pages.—Ed.]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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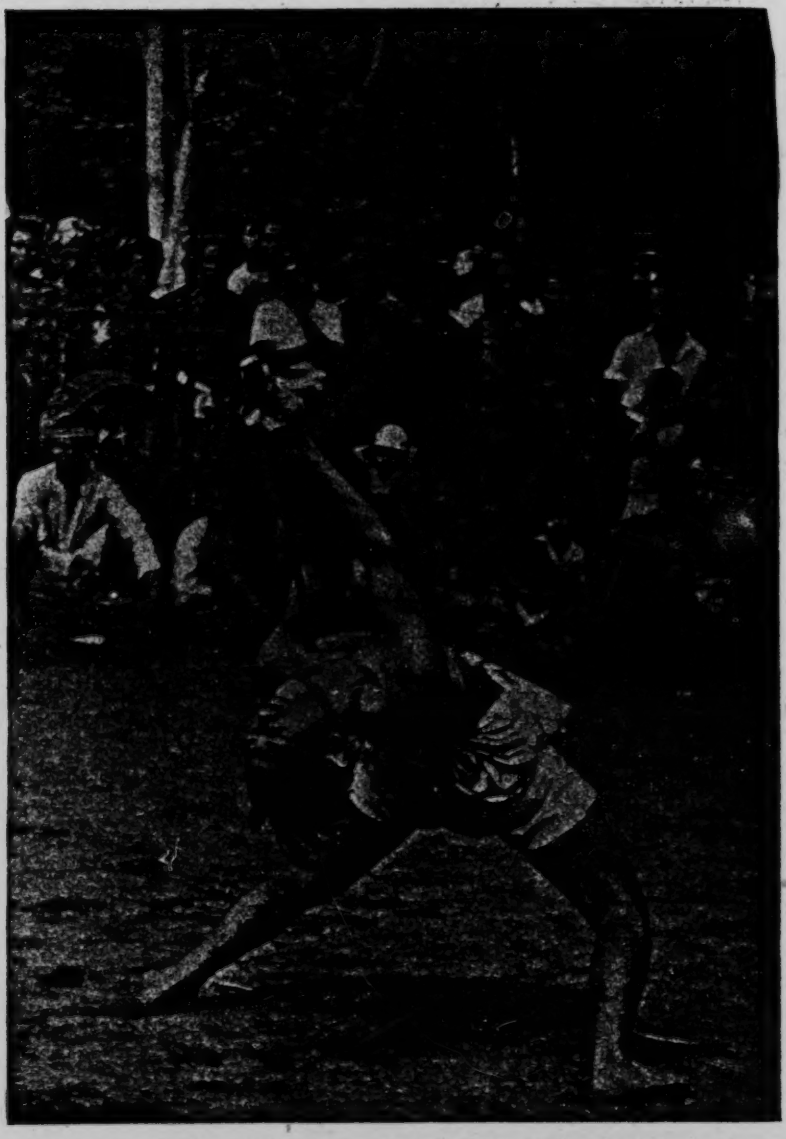

The kris in the hands of the dancer in trance is turned against him by the magic of Rangda

I 222 [411] Br J 411 531 A 411 531

[555 cont.]

that such a great measure of artistic feeling is revealed here. Balinese and Javanese krises in particular are worthy of consideration. All kinds of figures of people, gods, animals, and flowers are represented on the [556] hilts. The shields, too, are not only cleverly worked, but also painted (1). The sheaths of the

1. J.A.Loebèr, Jr., op. cit., p. 10. See also the article by Mr. J.G.Huyser on the making of krises in Nederlands Indië, Oud en Nieuw, Vols. I and II.

Atjehnese rèntjong and swords must not be forgotten. The difference [illustration appears here] is that the rèntjong sheath has exactly the same form as the weapon, while the curved form of the weapon is not recognizable in the Javanese kris sheath, and that the rèntjong sheath is of one piece, while the kris sheath, especially the one covered with metal, [illustration appears here] consists of two halves, one laid upon the other. In addition, the Atjehnese weapon sheath commonly has very fine ornamentation, so that it is not only very evenly incised, but is equally well made throughout.

J 411 531 In reporting on weapon sheaths and hilts, the choppers of Tjikeroeh in the Preanger, a dèsa not far from the station Rantja-Ekèk on the [557] Western Railroad, are also to be noted. The sheath consists of two halves, one laid upon the other, which are encircled by copper rings. The hilt is very commonly the head of a bird.

Br 531 411 The sheaths of the Dajak mandau are often decorated with splendid ornamentation in bas-relief.

In addition to the weapon sheaths and hilts, the peoples of the Indies have a number of utilitarian articles that are decorated with exquisite carving. [Illustrations appear here.] There are the lecterns for the Koran, made from a single piece of wood and fashioned ingeniously so that it stands in an X-form, providing space for the book to be opened and read;

I 352 531

[Text continues on p. 626]

Madura OE6 Sumatra OD1 Timor OF20
Bahau OC5 Borneo OC1
Batak OD5 Nias OD11
Atjehnese OD4 Bali OF7

T 415 531 [559 cont.] tubes and are also decorated at certain intervals with handsome stylized animal forms.

Carved Image from Nias
Zendingsmuseum Barmen

Central Borneo has the deer-horn hilts of the mandau, which [560] [illustration appears here] are not inferior to the Javanese kris hilts in wood or bone. These deer-horn hilts are carved in relief. According to some they are made only by persons who have a particular gift for the work and they work only when they feel inspired.

On Sumatra, Java, Madura, Bali, and southern Celebes, ivory is also used for the hilts of weapons and other decorations. This material is used especially for ceremonial weapons, but armbands (Batak, Kajan-Dajak [Kayan Dyak]) and tobacco containers (Toba-Batak) are also made of it. The Balinese take first place in carving ivory hilts.

Although the number of articles made of bone is not very large, the use of horn is more common. [561] It is used both for decoration and to make smaller articles.

Examples of the former are the powder horns such as are found in Atjeh (buffalo horn), among some of the Batak (antelope horn), and among the Boegan-Dajak (rhinoceros bird). [Illustration appears here.] Bullet boxes, too, in various forms and of various origins, are often decorated around the top like the powder horns.

[Text continues on p. 630]

1:Alkema & Bezemer--645 E-4, 5 (no date)1927 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Celebes OC1
Atjehnese OD4
Javanese OE5
Bali OF7
Borneo OC1
Sumatra OD1

[573 cont.]

The characteristic of the Javanese kris, however, is the difference in color of the two metals. The Javanese kris is not polished smooth; it differs in this respect from the Balinese kris, and also in that the pamor of Bali contains more nickel, as do most of the krises manufactured outside Java.

Pamor is not only used in krises, but also for lance points. Pamor krises from Celebes, Sumatra, and Borneo are not only recognizable by their hilts, which have their own peculiar shapes, but also by the blade, which is not as handsomely worked as among the Javanese and does not have the curved edge.

The religious aura that surrounds the making of krises is clearly shown by the ceremonies that accompany the beginning of the forging and also by the significance attached to the different pamor designs and their protective power..

The art of forging weapons is practiced among practically all the peoples of the archipelago, but not all the products of this art are notable for [575] artistic merit. This can be said, however, of the Dajak mandau (swords) and the rentjong (daggers). The mandau in particular are noted for the hardness of the steel. The blade is slightly curved, "so that when one holds this broadsword horizontally at eye level with the edge turned toward him, he can see clearly that the point is higher than the hilt" (1). The klĕwang of Atjeh and of other peoples,

1. Dr. G.A. Wilken, Vergelijkende Volkenkunde van Nederlands Indië [Comparative Ethnology of the Netherlands East Indies], p. 96.

but those of the Atjehnese in particular, have a peculiarity like the mandau in that the back of the blade is quite thick, sometimes five to eight millimeters, so that a blow from this weapon is more to be feared than one from other native swords.

Nearly everywhere in the archipelago, chopping knives (golok) are forged in addition to the true swords. They serve as choppers or axes in daily use.

F Flores OF9 Bali OF7 Malays AN5
R-L Redjang- Borneo OC1 Atjehnese OD4
Bl Lampong OD12 Celebes OG1 Batak OD5
Br Sumbawa OF18 Kubu OD8
C [87 cont.] Makassar OG6 Sundanese OF7
Sb Javanese OF5
MK
J
Sn
K
Bt
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411

among the Orang bĕnuwa of the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago, and the island Bangka, among the Atjehnese, Batak, Lubu, and Lampong, and in the areas around Palembang on Sumatra, among the Sundanese, on Bali, among all the Dajak tribes on Borneo, among the still half-savage peoples of Celebes, in the Philippines, and on Sumbawa, while in former times it was generally used by the Makassarese, the Buginese, and the Javanese (1) [see footnote 1 above].

East of the Philippines in the north and central Flores in the south of the archipelago, only imported blowguns are found.

The Malay name for this weapon is sumpitan or sĕmpitan (according to Pijnappel, from the stem sĕmpit = narrow, etc.), Dajak sipet, Makassarese sappu, Alfoer of northern Celebes sĕput, Balinese tulup, Javanese tulupan (tulup = wulu = name of a thin kind of bamboo. Bambusa longinodis, from which blowguns are made), Batak ultop.

Among some tribes these blowguns are made from a kind of bamboo called bambu tĕmiang = bambusa longinodis.

Br 411 321 Among the Dajak and other tribes it is made of wood, specifically of ironwood, which is bored [88] with extreme care. The length of the blowguns is generally about two and a half meters, the interior diameter one millimeter. Among the Dajak they are provided with an iron or wooden point, like a lance, and can thus be used like this weapon. The little arrows for the blowgun are made of hard wood or bamboo. They are very thin, about one decimeter long and three millimeters thick. The points, generally triangular, are made of the same material and sometimes of iron, copper, or bone. A little conical piece of pith is stuck on the opposite end of the small arrow, which serves to make the arrow fit in the bore so as to decrease the loss of force when one blows in it. Sometimes, as among the Dajak, the conical piece of pith is hollowed out at the base, which makes it expand when blown on and thus makes still an even tighter fit. This makes the force of the arrow greater and the aim more precise.

1 [Blowguns are found among the following tribes.— Analyst]

Bali OF7 Melanesians OK2 New Guinea OJ1
Flores OF9 Mentawi OD9 Moluccas OH1
Kubu OD8 Timor OF7
Javanese OE5 Celebes OG1
Polynesians OS2 Java OE1

NG I 411 MD I T F C J Bl 411

[89 cont.] use the bow; it is their national weapon. Furthermore, we find the bow generally among the Negritos of the Philippines, among the inhabitants of the Moluccas, on the Southeastern and Southwestern Islands, on Timor and eastern Flores and sporadically on Celebes around the Gulf of Tomori, among some Malay tribes of the Philippines, and on Java and Bali (1). Among the western

1. Pleyte, "Sumpitan and bow," op. cit., pp. 274-275.

K Br Mt 411 NG Mt Bl J 411

peoples, therefore, who, as we saw, use the blowgun, the bow is apparently not a national weapon. Among the foremost tribes among them its use is unknown. Only one people in the west, the Mentawei and Pagi Islanders, generally make use of the bow. It is unknown among the Dajak, as well as among the savage tribes on Sumatra or the Orang benuwa on Malacca and the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago. The Javanese know the bow and arrow, but use them more for amusement and ceremonies than as a weapon. On Bali, where the bow is also found and is actually used in warfare, it was first introduced in historical times (1849). We can say, therefore, that among the Malays the bow is not a national weapon, with the exception of the Mentawei Islanders, but that it may be regarded as such in the east, primarily among the Papuans, who do not know the blowgun. Going beyond the Malay Archipelago, we see that the use of the bow and arrow is not known in Polynesia. It has been reported that it is used as a weapon of war only on Tonga, but there the weapon has probably been adopted from the Fiji Islands. [90] The bow and arrow are found everywhere on this island, as on most of the islands lying between it and New Guinea, islands inhabited by the Melanesian race. Indeed, we may assume that the bow is the national weapon of the Melanesians or Papuans (1). The bow and arrow seem never

NG Mel P 411

1. Waitz, Anthropologie, Vol. VI,

2: Wilken--124 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Mori-LaKi OG7
Borneo OC1
Bali OF7
Javanese OE5
Malays AN5
MaKassar OG6

Br 411 [93 cont.] the Dajak and the Orang bĕnuwa, at least the wooden ones, are provided with iron lance-heads. The lances bear various names according to the various kinds of shafts and points they have. Br Bl J 411 The most general name is tumbak, by which the lance on Java, Bali, Borneo, etc. is known. The light, short lance, which is used more for throwing, is called lambing, Javanese lĕmbing. The shafts are of thick rattan or of wood, often decorated with bands of some kind of metal, gold or silver, or with rattan rings and human or goat hair. They are generally eight to nine feet long. Those of the Balinese, however, are the longest, often measuring four meters and more. The lance is properly called their national weapon (1).

1. Bloemen Waanders, op. cit., p. 149.

e. Daggers and Krises

I MK MI J 411 326 Krises and daggers originated from the lance (2). We may say that the primitive dagger is merely a spearhead without a shaft. The pomiard is the national weapon among some peoples, especially among the Javanese, the Malays, the Buginese, Makassarese, etc. The Malay and Javanese name for the dagger or poniard is kris. Its shapes are innumerable, and there are just as many names because they indicate the shape of blade, hilt, and sheath. On Java alone there are more than 100.

2. Tylor, Anthropology, p. 192.

The blade of the kris is usually three to four decimeters long and always flat, and it often has a wavy shape. The blade M-L of most of the krises is damasoened with pamor, a kind of [439 magnetic iron that is brought from Luwu on southern Celebes. 316]

182:Gardner G-3 (no date) 1936

AN1 Malaya
Malays AN5
Bali OF7
Javanese OE5

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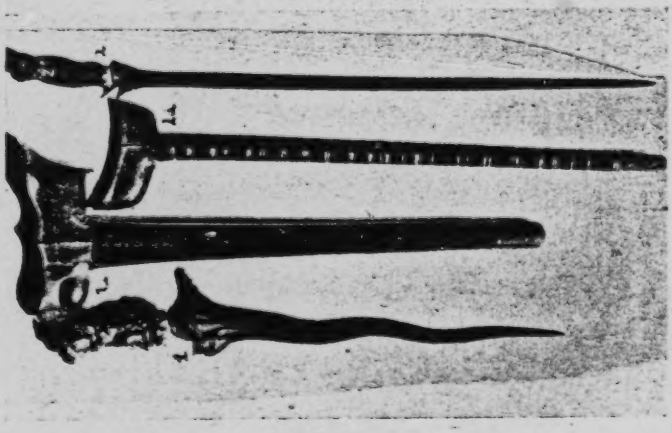

37. Balinese *kĕris*, ornate gem studded hilt.
1a. Sheath of No. 1. 2. *K. baheri.*
2a. Sheath of No. 2.

J
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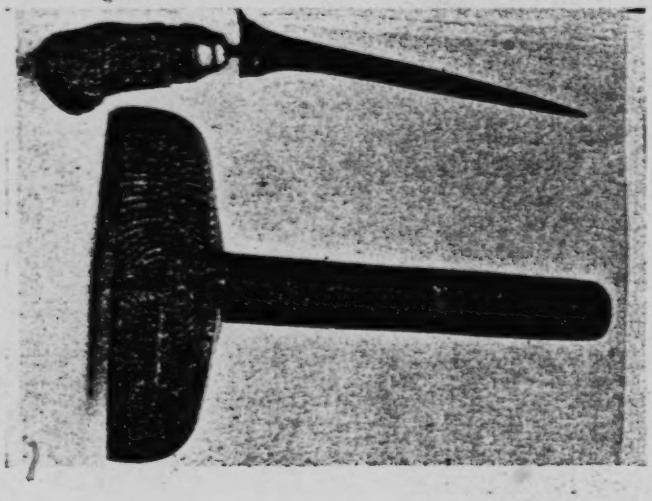
*411



36. Javanese *kĕris* and sheath; note large *sampir.*